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the cover

The Japanese broadcasting industry has made tremendous strides in recent years, as the special article beginning on Page 4 will show. Our cover pictures show, at the left, top to bottom: 1. a technician at work in the film department of NHK, Japan Broadcasting Corporation; 2. a studio program at NHK, as seen from a control room; and 3. a floor director at work during a rehearsal at a MINPORO-affiliated station in Tokyo. The pictures at right show, at top: Toshugu Shrine at Nikko, a unique example of Japan's many shrines; and, at bottom: the 700-year-old Great Buddha of Kamakura.

index

For the benefit of local unions needing such information in negotiations and planning, here are the latest figures for the cost-of-living index, compared with 1961 figures: April, 1963—106.2; April, 1962—105.2.

commentary

The IBEW, like many other unions, has been awaiting the tortuous processes of law to provide a final answer to the question of the agency shop, in the General Motors case. We can say thankfully that the report of the decision of the U. S. Supreme Court is that it is legal to bargain for and to enforce agency shop provisions in collective bargaining agreements in states where agency shops are not prohibited by state law.

Decisions on two cases were issued by the Supreme Court on June 3. The first, the General Motors case, concludes that bargaining for and enforcing the terms of an agency shop provision is not an unfair labor practice prescribed by Section 8 of the LMRA. The Court said that an employer cannot refuse to bargain on the issue, as did General Motors. Thus, the employer violated Section 8(a)5 and the order of the NLRB to him to return to the bargaining table was found proper. This provides labor representatives the opportunity to say, "I told you so" and justifies the arguments of union members that free-riders should not remain free-riders, by law.

Never, in the opinion of this editor, has a more logical decision been issued by a court, nor has a more compelling and detailed discussion of a case been so clear to a lay reader, in many a day.

The array of legal talent in a concurrent case (*Retail Clerks vs. Shermerhorn*), which the Court decided the same day, was impressive in numbers and, from organized labor's point of view, effective. The Attorneys General of 13 right-to-work states filed as joint amici curiae, as did the state of Virginia, separately, the United States Chamber of Commerce and, in opposition, the AFL-CIO and the UAW, along with counsel for the Retail Clerks. Here, the Court found that Section 14(b) of the LMRA not only permits the states to outlaw the union shop, but also gives states the right to ban requirement of payment of union charges or fees in lieu of membership. Effectively, this upholds the agency shop in Indiana and permits continuation of the bans of other right-to-work states. This case also raised the question of a so-called "service fee" for those who are not union members and the Court stated that this resolves to a matter of ambiguity, "is of bookkeeping significance only", and could even lead to sanction of fees under which the non-member would pay more than a member.

In the latter case, the Court did not pass upon the legality of whether a state court may enjoin the operation of an agency shop and set this matter for re-argument in its next Term.

Summing up, we ask the question "So you thought the effort to repeal 14(b) was a matter of only building trades' unions interest? Now *your* Local Union, in a right-to-work state, is clearly affected. *Now* will you write your Congressman and Senators?

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ABOVE: Mt. Fujiyama, rising in central Honshu, is noted Japanese landmark. RIGHT: An NHK announcer about to start broadcasting.

Japan's Broadcasting Unions Move Ahead

By **MITZI BALES**

They've cut required overtime, per month, from 120 to 70 hours! They've organized the nation's 1300 collectors of radio and TV fees. They're seeking special protections and better pay for tenders of satellite stations in bear country.

JAPAN's broadcasting industry is a thriving, profitable, recognized part of this highly-literate country's culture and economy. And its unions, though not powerful, are large and well organized. In fact, the organizing potential is only 2,000 non-members in about 10 small local stations.

There are two major unions, corresponding to the division of the broadcasting industry into the public and private sectors, NIPPORO (The Japan Broadcasting Workers' Union) is the union of the single enterprise NHK (Nippon Hoso Kyokai or Japan Broadcasting Corporation.) This corporation is non-commercial. MINPORO (Japan Federation of Private Broadcasting Workers' Union) is a national federation of local unions organized at privately-operated radio and TV stations and some related firms. The Council of Broadcasting Workers' Unions brings NIPPORO and MINPORO together for joint cooperation in a limited area of activity.

Since the two union organizations are so closely related to each other and so closely related to the dual structure of the industry, it

may serve clarity to treat them separately.

NHK is 38 years old, having come into existence as a result of The Broadcast Law of 1925. This law provided for a special juridical organization to operate in the radio field. It is neither state operated nor semi-governmental. It is financed by receiving fees collectable under the law and paid by possessors of receiving sets. At present, fees are 300 yen (about 83 cents) per month for radio and TV and 50 yen (about 14 cents) for radio only.

The directorship of NHK rests in its Board of Governors, 12 persons appointed by the Prime Minister with Diet approval. Of these, eight are regional members and the other four are specialists for education, culture, science and industry. Government officials, politicians and manufacturers of broadcast products are barred from membership on the Board. NHK books are audited by the Government Audit Board, and its revenues, expenditures and projects are subject to Diet approval.

TWO NETWORKS OPERATED

NHK operates two networks: Network I for general family programs and Network II for educational and cultural programs. Network I broadcasts 18 hours daily and the other, 10½ hours daily. NHK now has 12 hours of experimental FM broadcasting confined to the Tokyo-Osaka area, but plans are to expand FM operations nationwide.

As of March, 1962, NHK had 270 radio stations and 117 TV stations. Since Japan's terrain is so irregular—jutted with mountains and speckled with valleys—many stations are needed. These are nearly all linked by relay lines with a frequency-range capability ranging from 50 c/s to 7,500-10,000 c/s. Network I can reach 99.7% of the stations and Network II, 97.5%.

Connected with NHK are the Technical Research Laboratories where constant experimentation keeps NHK abreast—or ahead—of newest broadcasting developments. For example, NHK researchers have developed remote control of cameras in the studio, a diver camera to work under water and are now studying a device that will switch programs automatically. The current preoccupation is with perfecting facilities for worldwide TV and radio broadcasting of the 1964 Olympic Games from Tokyo.

NIPPORO, the union of NHK employes, is a postwar baby, only 15 years old. It is affiliated with the Sohyo, Japan's largest national federation, and also belongs to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. It has 12,000 members of which 5,500 are in Tokyo. Being a union of all NHK workers, it embraces technicians and clerks, programmers and secretaries, announcers and fee collectors (1,300 of these). About 6,000 of the total membership are technicians, 3,500 concentrated in Tokyo. Of 102 announcers in Tokyo, 25 are women, and 5% of the overall membership are females.

There are six fulltime executive officers at central headquarters and one fulltime officer in each of the seven regional offices, which correspond to the seven central broadcasting stations servicing the minor stations throughout Japan. The latter have branch unions with a part-time officer only. Both the central union headquarters and the Tokyo branch are housed in the NHK building in Tokyo.

Currently there is some serious thinking going on regarding a reorganization of the Tokyo branch—partly to better handle and serve the separate problems of technicians and other specific groups within the membership. This reorganization would entail the incorporation of the Tokyo branch into the central headquarters with a fulltime executive (the seventh) and three fulltime assistants in charge of the Tokyo area. For the first time there would be three divisions: technical, programming and general. These divisions would be headed by the assistants to the Tokyo area executive. Such reorganization is contemplated for the Fall.

Now, how do NIPPORO members fare as to wages and working conditions?

Quoting average wages in the Japanese context is treacherous owing to the complex and unique allowance system which prevails. One can never be sure if the "basic wage" mentioned is fully free of some special consideration of age, educational level or other factor. Also, there is little if any differentiation for technicians or other highly skilled workers, except that some technicians who have a certain government operating license for handling specified TV equipment do get a special allowance of 1000 yen (about $2.75) per month. Keeping all this in mind, we can advance the sum of 31,290 yen (about $87.25) per month as the average basic wage of NIPPORO members.

LIMITATION: 70 HOURS OVERTIME

Working hours are from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. daily and 9 a.m. to noon on Saturday, but there is a tremendous amount of required overtime—up to 70 hours a month for each employe. This limitation to 70 hours is written into the contract and represents an improvement from the previous 120 hours of required overtime. Again, the vacation benefit is seemingly generous—21 days. But few employes can take their full allotment due to pressure of work, and there is no compensatory measure in the contract.

What has the young NIPPORO accomplished for its members?

The wage gains have been substantial if still short of the goal. For each of 5 years, NIPPORO has negotiated a salary raise of almost 10 per cent. It has also succeeded in cutting the required overtime from 120 hours to 70 hours a month, as previously cited. And, as one officer put it: "We keep a constant watch. If we didn't, conditions would be far worse. And if

we didn't make regular demands, managements wouldn't do anything at all for the employes."

NIPPORO faces many problems, not the least of which an officer cites as a low union consciousness among its members. Organization itself is no problem —NHK is 100 per cent organized in NIPPORO. But few members are active union supporters. The union has launched a "Blue Sky Movement," a kind of back-door educational program, to increase membership awareness of and interest in their union. On more bread-and-butter matters, NIPPORO is aiming to cut the overtime still more, to 60 hours, improve wages and insure a full vacation for its members.

Another problem for NIPPORO arises from the many small satellite stations in remote and rugged areas. These must be checked periodically and often present dangerous and difficult situations for the servicing technicians—even to wild bears and harmful snakes in the far north. NIPPORO is trying to negotiate both better protective measures and extra pay for those who check and maintain the satellites.

Let us now turn to a consideration of MINPORO and the commercial broadcasting sector of Japan.

Commercial broadcasting has as spectacular a growth history as Japan's postwar economy—and, indeed, dates from the beginning of this country's economic recovery.

COMMERCIAL RADIO IS NEWCOMER

Commercial radio is just 12 years old. In that short span it has rocketed from six stations to 129. Commercial TV shows a like explosiveness—from three stations in 1953 to 117 today.

When the 1950 Broadcast Law insured the legal basis for commercial radio, the Japanese radio audience was already well established. The first few stations could be received by nine million (58.6%) listening households. By 1954 there were 57 stations reaching 12,500,000 licensed receivers with 75.2% coverage. By 1957 coverage was up to 81.3% and there were 99 stations and 14,000,000 licensed receivers.

The first TV station was in Tokyo in 1953. Four years later there were five stations, though there were only 900,000 sets in the whole of the country. But just one year later, in 1958, the number of sets passed the one million mark—and since then has been increasing by one or one-and-a-half million units annually. At the end of October, 1962 there were 12,000,000 sets. By 1959, there were already 44 TV stations in operation.

Private broadcasting employes are organized into MINPORO in equal strength to NIPPORO—12,000 members. Of these, about 23.4% are technicians. Each of the affiliates is organized on an enterprise basis and is directly affiliated to the national federation. MINPORO belongs to none of the four Japanese national centers nor any international organization.

Being a federation, MINPORO has a variegated make-up. Among its 62 affiliated unions (enterprises) are 44 TV and radio firms (6 being TV only and 5, radio only) and 18 "service" companies. These latter include TV set sales and repair agencies which are subsidiaries of TV stations, firms which reprint scripts and tapes for resale, and TV film makers.

There are seven regional offices to coordinate activities on that level. Of seven national officers, only three are fulltime. The only other paid staff at the federation are two office employes. Periodically fulltime officers are appointed in the region and some locals have fulltimers, such as Tokyo, with two. Most contracts allow up to 100 days leave a year for union activities, so that occasionally someone may work fulltime for the union on a short term basis.

There is frequent turnover among officers at all levels, the longest tenure being two years. One current officer accounts for this in two ways: first, volunteers simply "get too tired"; second, and more complex, officers are

Japanese unionists link arms and sing during a lunchtime rally for higher wages at MINPORO's Radio Kanto, Yokohama.

Negano broadcasting employees demonstrate against unfair labor practices of their employer, who tried to split their union last summer. Nagamo is a MINPORO affiliate.

usually of fairly high rank in the companies and so are faced with a choice between a union and company career. Since enterprise consciousness is so high, officers heretofore have chosen to leave union posts quickly so as not to jeopardize their company positions. This view is changing, however, with the institution of the fulltime officer system. "Officers are becoming more dedicated to the union," a present office-holder said.

MINPORO members work an 8-hour day and 6-day, 48-hour week with about 27 hours of overtime. The wages vary more between small and large firms than between skilled or unskilled occupations—a general characteristic of Japan. Again keeping in mind the warnings about the Japanese wage system, the average wage might be said to be 31,286 yen ($87.25) per month. Broken down a little more: in TV stations of more than 10kw's it is 34,952 yen ($96.53), below 10kw's it is 25,025 yen ($69.45), in radio stations it is 27,099 yen ($75.20) and in other firms, 27,046 yen ($75.10) per month.

MINPORO can point to a doubling of its membership in about two or three years as its primary achievement. This is a direct result of deplorable working conditions in most private broadcast firms. MINPORO has improved wages substantially; its raise of more than 5,000 yen last year was the largest gained by any union. Seven of its affiliates have won the 5½-day, 43-hour week, which is one of the federation's overall goals.

MINPORO's lack of enough fulltime national staff is one of its major problems. This is tied to its relatively weak financial position. (Locals pay only 100 yen (28c) per capita to the federation.) There is also the task of bringing 10 small unorganized stations into its orbit. Of ever-important concern is the need to further improve wages and to cut working hours, both the overtime at all firms and the regular workweek at places outside the seven where shorter hours already prevail.

Together, MINPORO and NIPPORO have organized about 95 per cent of Japan's big-revenue broadcasting industry. (TV income from advertising more than doubled in one year from 1958 to 1959 and is now up to a phenomenal 211,000 million yen!) They face some of the same challenges—bettering wages, shortening hours, improving general working conditions, stimulating union consciousness. And they also have some unlike problems based on their differing structure—for example, MINPORO's financial weakness as a federation. But things look hopeful for the broadcasting workers of Japan if one is to judge from the dedication and awareness of the present officers. They have accepted the challenges and are plotting the strategy to win a better life for their union members.

UNIONS—Who Needs Them?

. . . this was the topic for discussion by four distinguished leaders in the field of labor, during a recent educational television broadcast. In an hour-long program, which originated at WGBH-TV, Boston, Mass., United States Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz; AFL-CIO President George Meany; John T. Dunlop, professor of economics and labor at Harvard; and Solomon Barkin, former research director for the Textile Workers; delved into the problems of labor today. Below you'll find an introduction to the discussion by Moderator A. H. Raskin, and on the following pages some of the significant questions and answers.

IN the turbulent nineteen thirties the march of labor was something to sing about. Today the songs of sit-down strikes and of solidarity live on only in nostalgia . . . folk ballads sung by college students as coffee-house entertainment. The change in labor goes deeper than the muting of its music. When the nation was inching out of the mass misery of the great depression, unionism had the high excitement of a crusade. Millions of workers flocked into unions. They constituted an inspiring instrument of industrial democracy, uplifting men's hearts at the same time that they fought to fill their bellies and banish insecurity.

Now a curious torpor seems to envelop organized labor. Its unions are stronger and richer than ever before. They have effected impressive improvements in wages and working conditions, created a wholly new structure of industry—financed social security and achieved an importance in political and community affairs undreamed of a quarter century ago. Yet total union membership has stood still since the end of World War II: twice as many workers are outside union ranks as inside. Much of the vigor that once went into organizing the unorganized is now eaten up in internal feuds. Congress, irked by recent strikes in vital industries, is considering new legal curbs on union economic power. The upward chase of wages and prices in some key fields has led to charges that labor wins its gains at the expense of the consumer and that it is pricing United States goods out of world markets. The McClellan Committee's long inquiry into labor mangement abuses has scarred labor's public image, despite the energy the AFL-CIO applied to expelling corrupt elements and to making its ethics codes a spiritual armor for its unions.

To this formidable list of troubles are added the dramatic new challenges posed by automation and other revolutionary changes in industrial technology. The blue-collar workers who have been the traditional mainstay of union strength are being replaced by hard-to-organize technicians and white-collar employees. Recruiting slogans carried over from the thirties lack magic for a generation that takes high wages and other union-established benefits for granted. Frozen leadership in many unions and an absence of facilities for training new leaders discourages talented youngsters from turning to unionism as a career. Are all these signs that organized labor is stagnating? Or is this merely a transition in which labor redefines its mission and presses on to expanded areas of social usefulness in an era of meteoric technological progress?

A. H. RASKIN, who moderated the panel discussion, is a member of the editorial board of the New York Times. For 25 years he was that newspaper's labor correspondent, covering the activities of unions and management from the days of the New Deal and World War II to the present day.

SOLOMON BARKIN

Former Research Director, Textile Workers Union

RASKIN. Mr. Barkin, do you believe the trade union movement has run out of steam or do you feel it's still going forward?

BARKIN: Well, I think it's in a very critical stage. I judge it in terms of the experience of the past fifteen years. I contrast the present experience with the overwhelming success which the trade unions had in 1947-48 in connection with the union shop elections held in those years. They won well over 95 and 97 percent of the elections and they aroused and secured the support of the rank and file membership. I contrast that with the experience of several of our movements on the West Coast with a loss of two-thirds vote required for union-shop confirmation in the aero-space plants. This, to me, represents the change in time and character of our movement and the diminution of support and the questions which apparently pervade the minds of the trade union membership.

RASKIN: What are those questions? What do you conceive to be the factors making for an alienation?

BARKIN: I would hardly call it an alienation. I would say its basic difficulty has been that the trade union movement has not enlisted new occupational groups. Technicians, white collar men, the professionals, new industries which have arisen. And it holds very strongly in the areas in which it has been substantively organized.

RASKIN: Now, what kind of new appeals are needed to reach the people in these groups which are becoming more and more dominant a work force?

BARKIN: Well, these appeals must be basically new and fitted to these groups. I hardly think that the appeals to the manual workers who are the dominant membership of the traditional trade union. . . .

RASKIN: They are shrinking . . .

BARKIN: They are the shrinking economy. As you know under our automated system, we are transferring the predominant great mass workers from what I call, manually oriented skills, to conceptually oriented skills. The brain, the mind, the conceptual organization attribute, is the main attribute —the main skill we must have.

RASKIN: And . . . to these workers of brain and mind that unions must now appeal.

BARKIN: Yes.

RASKIN: How are they going to do that, in your opinion?

BARKIN: Well, I don't think I need draw any blueprints because this must come through experimentation and through close identification. But these people in these new occupations have sources of discontent . . . they're very different from the manual worker . . . it's not the discontent of people who are unemployed; it's not the discontent of people who are on the hunger lines; they are not the discontented who are brow-beaten. This is a discontent of frustration, of inadequacy of solution, inadequacy of compensation.

SOLOMON BARKIN was for many years research director for the Textile Workers Union of America, AFL-CIO. He recently left that organization to join the Office of Economic Control and Development, Paris, France.

RASKIN: Now what answers do trade unions have to that kind of problem?

BARKIN: Well, the new kind of trade union has to be a combination of an occupational professional unit, combined rather flexibly with the industrial unit bargains with the very fluid employer . . . it is my judgment as I survey the scene that the whole craft union is played out because the craft union worker has become a technician. The industrial union is played out because in a sense the lines among trade industries has dwindled and almost disappeared. And, consequently, we have a rather fluidly reorganized movement and system of organization which brings crafts together, professions together, occupations together rather fluidly to meet the changing character of the employer unit. And moreover, another thing that has happened —the economics of individual industry is becoming . . . receding in importance in determining economic benefits. This is rather reflected in collective bargaining systems which we have now.

JOHN T. DUNLOP

Professor of Economics, Harvard University

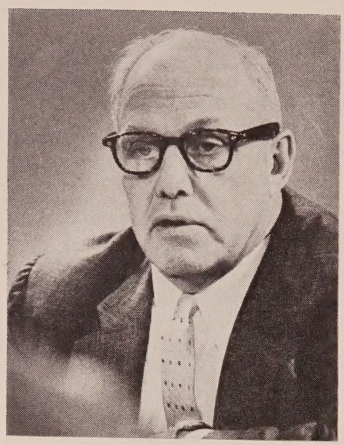
RASKIN: Professor Dunlop, in the long view of a labor historian, where do you think America's labor movement stands today? Is is over the hill or is it still on the way up?

DUNLOP: Mr. Raskin, the labor movement has never grown very rapidly except under unusual circumstances. Only four times since 1900 has it grown at a significant pace: at the turn of the century, during the First World War, during the early days of the New Deal, and then again during World War Two. The labor movement, in other words, since the end of the war has been doing about what it has been doing three out of four years since the turn of the century, growing at a slow pace, working hard to stay still. It is true, as you have outlined, that our labor movement confronts a number of new and difficult problems, but there are also some new opportunities in the situation. Never before have the opportunities for government workers been as bright as they are today at the federal level, at the state and local levels, as well. The increased automation to which you referred has certainly improved the position of our skilled workers and the opportunities which they have. The industrialization of new areas of our country are ultimately going to make for a brighter prospect for organization there. So I would not write it off as over the hill.

RASKIN: What jobs do you feel the labor movement has to do? What is its function?

DUNLOP: The labor movement in the United States, as I see it, operates at three or four levels in our society. The most important one in its tradition is at the plant level, at the work place where men confront their foremen and the lower levels of supervision. It is here that they handle grievances, make the adaptations to change that must be made in the everyday operations of plant and industry. Then our unions have an important function to serve at the industry level. Here they standardize conditions on an industry basis, on the basis of competing firms. They hope to train workers, they standardize competition. This has been a major function of our collective bargaining. Then, our unions serve an important function in local communities in growing ways—in local farm, school, and community activities and recreation. There's been a great burst of activity of this sort in our postwar world. And, finally, of course, our unions always have played a role in our national lives—in legislative matters and even increasingly in international affairs. So, in these ways, I feel, our unions have a continuing and important and vital role.

JOHN T. DUNLOP is well known to many trade unionists as a teacher in labor education seminars at Harvard. He has served as a mediator in disputes and as an advisor to the Federal government.



GEORGE MEANY became president of the American Federation of Labor following the death of William Green in 1952. Prior to that time he had served as secretary-treasurer of the AFL and had been a leader of the Plumbers and of the Building and Construction Trades in New York State.

RASKIN: Now, with respect to that national function and the impact of labor on the community there is, of course, a great deal of concern on whether union policies and, more especially the impact of labor management decisions, has been beneficial to the economy, both in terms of the price level and in terms of the maximum efficiency of our industry. What's your view on that?

DUNLOP: Mr. Raskin, that's a very large subject, of course. I would make just these three comments about it. First, there's been a lot of talk about the impact of collective bargaining on the health and safety of the country in these large, emergency disputes which so get the public eye, maritime, steel, and so forth. I would suggest to you that the number of areas of our economy which are subject to important disruption has been declining. Coal used to be a problem; it is no longer a problem. I think as automation affects the possibility to shut-down, many other areas will become less susceptible to strikes. I think the emergency dispute problem is an issue of declining importance in our national society. The second sort of comment one might raise in response to your question deals with efficiency. What has collective bargaining done to our efficiency in our plans? It's always had two sorts of effects, and I am inclined to think, on balance, that it has had the effect of making our management more efficient in compelling them to seek new labor-saving devices, in helping management train workers, broadening the span of skills which a man performs. It is true that there are some sectors —they are a relatively minor group of sectors, if you look at our whole society, where I suspect that our unions have impeded technological change. These are well known and have been highlighted in recent days. But if you take the *net* effect, I think it's clearly been a favorable effect. And finally, we like to be concerned with the effect of collective bargaining on inflation—wages and prices and so forth. During the middle 50s this was a serious problem; I think as competition from abroad—as competition within industries among products arises, this problem, too, will become less significant than it has been.

GEORGE MEANY
President, AFL-CIO

RASKIN: Mr. Meany, in your judgment what are the larger problems confronting the trade union movement. What is its function these days?

MEANY: Well, I think the function of the trade union movement is the same as it's always been and that is to improve the conditions of life and work of those it represents. I think the trade union movement has made a tremendous contribution to the building up of the American society as we know it. Under our system, the American trade union group has been able to bring the standard of life up to the point where the American worker has a better standard than a worker in any other part of the world. However, I think the immediate problem facing us is the problem that results in this continued unemployment of a large percentage, too large a percentage of our work force over too long a time. This has to do with technological improvements and automation.

RASKIN: You're in favor of those?

MEANY: We're in favor of improving the methods of production. There's no question about that. But this improvement that's come in the last 10 years has resulted in more and more people being permanently unemployed, because we're making more and more products with less and less labor all the time.

RASKIN: Now, do you feel that labor can make a contribution to that or is that primarily a governmental policy?

MEANY: No, no, I think this is something that's got to be done by labor and industry. I don't think there's any pat answer to the question of automation, to the results of automation, and its impact upon the worker. I think every single industry has got to attack this problem, from their own peculiar point of view. I don't think you can write a formula.

RASKIN: But essentially an answer can be found without . . .

MEANY: I think so. I think that if industry, in other words, the employer, would start off by agreeing with the union that the adverse economic effects that come to the individual due to increased automation are a proper responsibility of the industry as a whole. In other words, if the employer has some responsibility to do something about it, I think if the approach is made from that point of view, I think the solution can be found in most of these industries. Now, of course, this represents one of our most outstanding problems. Another problem that we have which is related to this, is the problem of organization. There are less and less blue collar people employed and more and more highly trained and highly technical white collar people.

RASKIN: Have you found an approach to unionism for that new group?

MEANY: Well the approach, the basic approach is the same in the final analysis whether a man wears a blue collar or a white collar. He has the same basic problems. He has to send his children to school, he has to clothe them and house them and so on and so forth. And, of course, he's got to try and provide for their higher education in the future. Now this applies to blue collar workers as well as the white collar worker. However, for some reason the white collar worker is not responsive, never has been responsive to organization.

RASKIN: Do you have an explanation for that difference?

MEANY: Well, I think it's, it has something to do with whom the white collar worker works. He doesn't work in a group such as we had in the assembly lines and the mass production. He just doesn't have the same feeling that identifies his problem with the fellow next to him. There's greater individuality there. However, I think that we can't deny it, that the so-called highly-trained white collar man is much more difficult to organize than the blue collar companion, let's say.

W. WILLARD WIRTZ
Secretary of Labor

RASKIN: Mr. Secretary, how would you define the public interest in the future development of the labor movement and in the conduct of labor-management relations?

WIRTZ: It would be that labor—organized labor—exercises a responsible, effec-

W. WILLARD WIRTZ became Secretary of Labor last year, when Arthur Goldberg was appointed to the U. S. Supreme Court. He had served as Under Secretary of Labor under Goldberg, and prior to that was an attorney.

tive, aggressive position in the representation of a particular set of interests—a set of interests which cannot be distinguished from the interests of the public as a whole: they are part of the public interest, they are a separate part. We need aggressive interplay of interests, we need responsibility in the interplay of those interests.

RASKIN: Do you see the whole nature of work changing as part of this technological revolution?

WIRTZ: Oh, it used to be that for most people a job was something that they were going to have all of their lives, they were born to it, often inherited it from the last generation—the last generation would pass it on to the next one. That's no longer true: with things moving as rapidly as they are now, a good many people are going to have to change the job they're in, in the course of their lifetime. We're moving very rapidly in this country from what was basically a production economy to a service economy. There is a fluidity in the whole concept of the work idea. We can no longer think of a job as something we're going to have all our lives, we've got to think in terms of moving as the economy develops, the technology increases, and the whole pace of things picks up.

RASKIN: Now that of course creates quite new problems in education and preparation, doesn't it?

WIRTZ: Yes, it does. When we talk about vocational education it's a very important part of the whole thing. When we talk about emergency training and retraining provisions, I always in my own mind ask what there is in this that couldn't be made part of the educational system, the general educational system. It's got to be done eventually that way. Some of what we're doing in the meantime is stop-gap, and more and more I think there is a realization that the educational curriculum has got to be geared now to a situation in which most of the jobs in the work force require a quite specialized training. There's no longer the demand for unskilled labor which there used to be. This is why where we have this school drop-out problem, why it's so acute when these boys and girls don't get the education that will qualify them for the new skilled jobs in the economy and go to the street corners wholly unprepared. Yes, the basic answer here has got to be that the educational system has got to take account of the rapidly changing facts of what we're calling the world of work.

RASKIN: Now what do you see as the promise of this changing technology, does it offer the same kind of world, or are there really new dimensions that we could look forward to if we respond imaginatively to this challenge?

WIRTZ: Oh, the dimensions are infinite. When we start talking about just starting out into all of space, that is perhaps the most dramatic aspect of it. When we think, too, of all the things that remain to be done in this country—all the schools we need, the roads, the parks, the water supply and so on and so forth—sure, we have the highest standard of living in the world, perhaps part of our problem is that it's good enough, that we don't realize all there is that can be done about it. This aspect, this problem of change doesn't scare me; I don't think this change scares anybody who looks it in the face. There are tremendous things to be done. We've never been scared of change in this country, and sure, I think the prospects are attractive prospects. We've got to meet their demands, but we don't meet them by turning away from them.

RASKIN: Now, do we need new institutions, do we need a basic change in the character of the labor movement itself or in its relations to the community?

WIRTZ: Oh, change is a comparative idea. Sure, I think we need change. With the world exploding, with technology exploding, with population exploding, hundreds of nations now all opening up rapidly, yes, I suppose it's a high degree of change. When you ask if there's need for new institutions to meet this change: no, I don't think so. I have a great deal of confidence in most of the established institutions. I think there is bound to be institutional inertia. I sometimes think it would be a good idea if we had a rule that every institution had to be abolished at the end of every 10 or 15 years so that a new one could start with all the vigor that comes from a new institution. But that's easy talk. There is a great vigor in the American institutions; there is inertia, too, but my answer is that we're talking particularly about the labor unions that there's only a demand here for the realization of the change that they've got to face. I have great confidence in their ability to do it.

RASKIN: So, that if it does appear at the moment that there is a standstill that is only a regrouping and a groping for new directions in your judgment?

WIRTZ: Yes, and yet I don't think there's much virtue in a Pollyanna attitude towards it. I think we ought to recognize that we're all of us falling a little short of meeting the demands of change *right now*. I believe there's that realization in the unions. I think there ought to be. I don't mean to gloss over the needs that we face, but I think that the capacity to do it is there.

RASKIN: Thank you very much.

Youth Joblessness Is Creating Crisis

High unemployment among youth could become socially and politically explosive if jobs are lacking for the 26 million youngsters entering the labor force during the 1960's, the AFL-CIO has warned.

"The Coming Crisis: Youth Without Work," an article in the April issue of the American Federationist, describes how the postwar baby boom has grown into today's problem of youth without opportunities.

During the 1960's, the analysis by the federation's Dept. of Research observes, the U. S. will feel the impact of the largest labor force increase of any decade in its history. By 1970, the labor force will total 85.5 million or 12.6 million above 1960; half the rise will be among youths 24 and under.

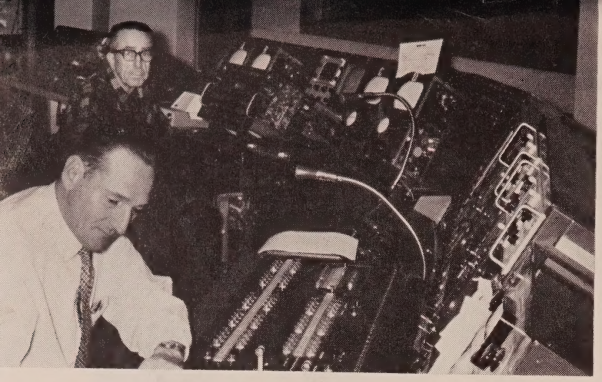
As the babies of the 1940s reach working age, they are having an increasing impact on society, the survey says. In 1960, over 2 million new young workers became jobholders and jobseekers; by 1965, it will be 2.5 million a year; by 1970, 3 million a year.

"This big expansion in the number of young people in the labor force, when considered in combination with the present high rate of unemployment among young workers, is cause for concern," the AFL-CIO researchers declare.

"Unemployment currently is very high for the labor force as a whole, but it is two to three times worse for young people—with 26 million new young workers entering the labor force in the 1960s."

Stacking additional cards against youth, the analysis adds, are such problems as increased automation which requires more education and training; the job shift away from goods-producing to service industries wiping out traditional first-experience jobs, and persistent racial discrimination.

The article estimated nearly 2 million youths were unemployed or underemployed in 1962.



LEFT: Engineer Bert Hall checks his program log, foreground, as C. R. "Pete" Yarger, chief engineer for radio, stands by. Yarger joined KSD in 1928.

We Visit KSD, KSD-TV, St. Louis

Local Union 4 Enjoys Model Relationship In "The Queen City"

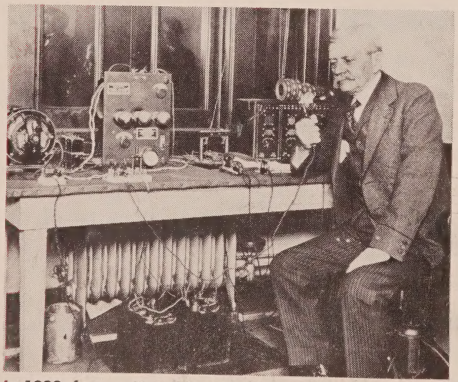
SUBSTANTIALLY coincident with the 42nd anniversary of KSD and the 17th anniversary of KSD-TV, these *Post-Dispatch* stations moved into their new home at 1111 Olive Street in St. Louis early this year. KSD first went on the air on February 14, 1922, and as the first commercial station in the State of Missouri. Its very elementary studios and transmitter consisted of a makeshift area in a corner of the second floor of the Post-Dispatch Building at 12th Blvd. and Olive Street; two windmill towers on the roof of the building supported a then-impressive six-wire birdcage antenna.*

In retrospect, the KSD facilities of those days are a far cry from its new home. When the newspaper moved from what was called the "mechanical annex" last year, the first two floors of the four-story building were completely rebuilt and KSD and KSD-TV can now boast of as fine quarters as are available in any station in the Midwest. On the first floor are two TV studios, dressing rooms, prop storage and construction facilities, film and record libraries, screening and editing rooms and the newsroom, and two radio studios, control rooms, etc. The main TV studio is 50 x 65 feet, two stories high and is often used for audience participation programs and the larger of its live productions.

Virtually all of the equipment is new. Wherever possible, transistorized equipment has been substituted for the tube-equipment formerly in use—nearly all of the audio equipment is transistorized. Provisions for the addition of color cameras have been made, although KSD-TV color programs are currently limited to those of the NBC network. Video tape recorders are available for color as well as monochrome.

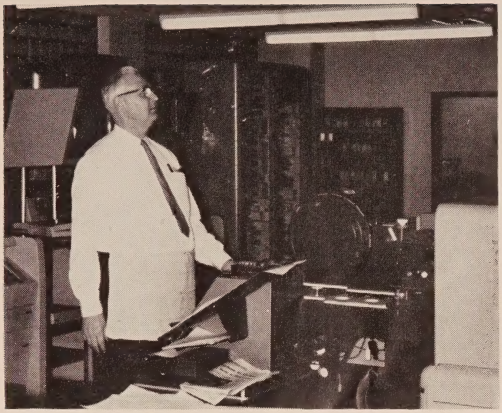
KSD has a history nearly concurrent with the NBC radio network and when KSD-TV went on the air on February 8, 1947 it became the St. Louis affiliate of NBC-TV. Similarly, the history of the stations is concurrent with the IBEW organization in St. Louis, dating back to the days when the radiomen were classified as "Class E" members of Local Union No. 1. It was from the nucleus of radio members of the IBEW in the St. Louis area, a part of which was the bargaining unit at the *Post-Dispatch* stations, that came the impetus for organization in the broadcasting industry in the United States. And from KSD (and later, KSD-TV) have come standards of labor-management relationships which have been and are envied by many local unions and many stations.

KSD Memento of Yesteryear



In 1922, former U. S. Vice President Thomas R. Marshall appeared on KSD. As can be seen, the equipment of the day was pretty rudimentary. We are not informed as to whether, along with his broadcast statement, he expounded on a subject for which he was long and often quoted. It was he who said, "What this country needs is a good five-cent cigar."

* If you know what a birdcage antenna is, then you're much older than I!



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1. *Harry Jackson, telecine engineer, at work.*
2. *Engineer Bert Hall, left, and Ralph Barnett, business manager of Local 4.*
3. *AM Supervisor Ray Herchert in a control room. Herchert joined KSD in 1938.*
4. *Gene Beller at the controls.*
5. *Ralph Brueckman edits film in a corner of the editing room.*
6. *Dave Stengel, staff announcer, standing, in the control room with Bert Hall.*
7. *Ed Graves, telecine supervisor, and Ralph Brueckman (beyond doorway).*

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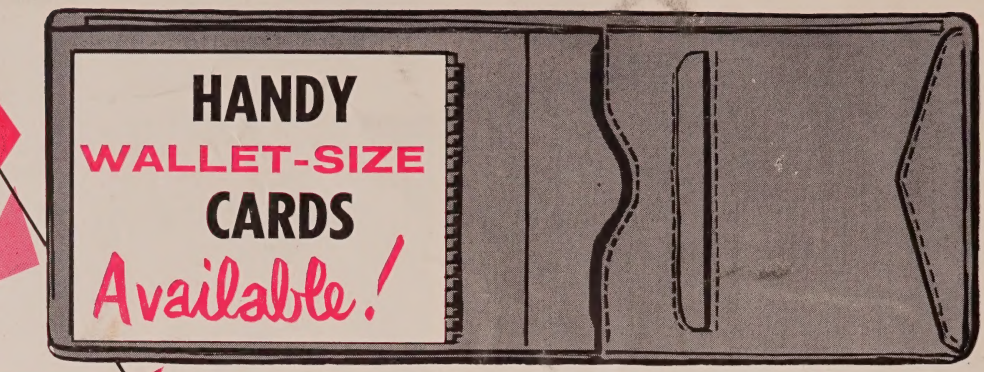

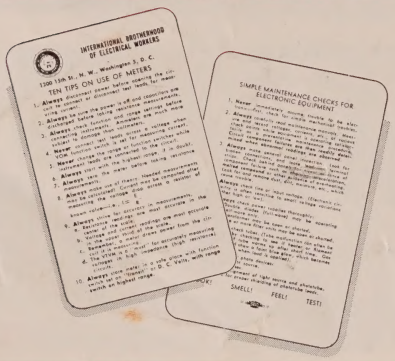
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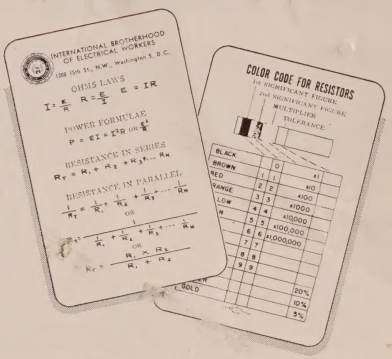

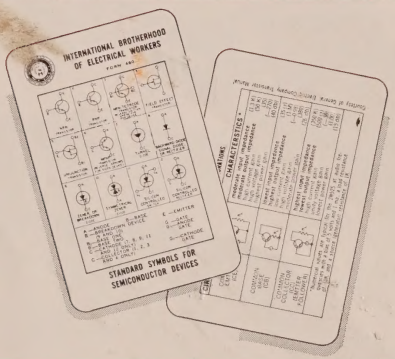

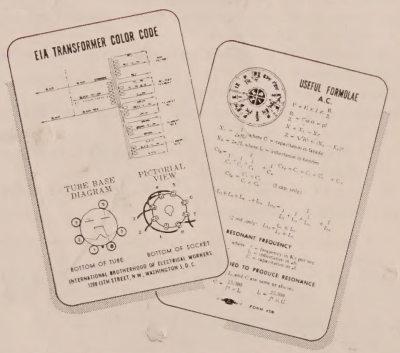

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